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Lincoln Room

SPEECH

OF

MR. PATERSON, OF NEW YORK,

ON THE

CIVIL AND DIPLOMATIC APPROPRIATION BILL

REPORTED BY

THE COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JUNE 14, 1844.

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SPEECH
OF
MR. PATERSON, OF NEW YORK,
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CIVIL AND DIPLOMATIC APPROPRIATION BILL,
IN

*Reply to the Southern doctrine of the unconstitutionality of a Protective Tariff;
and to Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee, and others, that Revenue ought not to be
raised by a Tariff discriminating for Protection, and that a Manufacturing
Population would endanger our free institutions.*

Delivered in the House of Representatives U. S., June 14, 1844.

Mr. PATTERSON rose and said, that it was known to the House that he had tried several times to obtain the floor when this bill was before under consideration, as well as when the Tariff bill was being debated. But as he did not possess the ability to jump the Mississippi, of which he had often heard, but never before appreciated the advantage of being able to stride the mountain, speaking with a trumpet's tongue, in order to obtain the eye and ear of the Speaker, in this great national arena—which, with the fact that he had not detained the House but a few moments at any one time during the session—was the only apology he should offer for obtruding himself upon its notice at this late hour of the night and of the session; and knowing the great anxiety of the Committee to get on with the business of the House, he would endeavor not to weary their patience.

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the Senate's amendment to the bill now under consideration, and all other necessary appropriations for an economical administration of the Government, but upon very different grounds from those assumed by the honorable gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. JOHNSON,) who opposes all appropriations in consequence of the revenue being raised through the medium of a Tariff discriminating for protection, which he regards as unconstitutional and inequitable in its operations upon different portions of the Union, entering upon the same ground that has been so long occupied by South Carolina. Waiving for the present the inequability of a Tariff for protection, I will go so far as to say, that, rather than expose the laboring classes of this country to foreign competition, I would protect the industry of the country if Government could make no other use of the revenue arising from such protection than to throw it into the sea. And here I shall leave for the present this branch of the subject, with the view of examining the inconsistency of some of the arguments put forth by the South, more particularly by the Representatives of South Carolina, against the constitutionality of any Tariff discriminating for protection; accompanied, as these arguments always are, with denunciations which portend a dissolution of the Union. And in doing this, without attempting anything like a constitutional argument, I shall give only a simple history of the origin of the protective policy.

It is claimed that our fathers were contending in the Revolution against an oppressive system of taxation ; and this is used as an argument against the probability of the framers of the Constitution intending to grant to the General Government the right to tax the people, when the circumstances out of which the Revolution grew shows the reverse, and that they did intend to place in the hands of the General Government all the power necessary to enable it to protect the industry of the country against foreign competition and foreign oppression. As early as 1695, manufacturing had made some advance in New England, at which time it was encouraged by the Colonial Government, particularly of Massachusetts. It soon, however, aroused the jealousy of the mother country, whose ruling politicians regarded the New England Colonies as the most prejudicial of all her possessions, from the ingenuity, intelligence, and enterprise of the people leading them to rise above the dependent and humble condition of mere colonists, to which position Great Britain intended to confine them. Many and fruitless were the attempts of the mother country to keep down enterprise in every other branch of industry than that of agriculture. The Board of Trade and Plantations made a report in compliance with instructions of the House of Commons, as early as the year 1731, after the Executive authority of Great Britain had failed to suppress the manufacturing enterprise of the country, the result of which was, that, among other branches of industry, it was found hats were manufactured and exported to a considerable extent, "which alarming discovery resulted in the passage of an act of Parliament forbidding their exportation from the Colonies, and from being transported from one Colony to another." Nor did the matter end here. In 1750, a law was passed by the Parliament of Great Britain, "which was a disgrace to a civilized nation." It prohibited "the erection or continuance of any mill or engine for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making steel, in the Colonies, under a penalty of two hundred pounds." "Every such establishment was declared a *nuisance*, which the Governors of the Colonies were required to abate under a penalty of £500." Mr. Huskisson stated, during the latter portion of his life, "that the real causes of the Revolution are to be found, not in the irritating measures that followed Mr. Grenville's plan of taxation, but in the long-cherished discontents of the Colonies at this system of legislative oppression."

Among the first movements of the Colonists was one of partial resistance, intended as a protection to the industry of the country. The non-importation act was passed by the first Congress that met at Philadelphia in 1774, and was signed by every member of that body. In the 7th article of that act, it is provided that "we will use our utmost endeavors to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their numbers to the greatest extent ; in the 8th, we will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, the arts, and the manufactures of the country, especially those of wool." The Colonists, few in number, scattered over a vast wilderness, their localities widely apart, and forming mere pin dots on the map of the globe, in arraying themselves, as it were, against the world in arms, in the adoption of measures like this, present a scene of moral grandeur never surpassed ; for it was evident to our fathers, at that time, that, feeble as they were, they must soon be found in hostile array against the most powerful nation upon earth. It was the only alternative left them, for the mother country seemed deaf to all their complaints. It was then that

"Freedom, from her mountain height,
Unfurled her standard to the air ;
She tore the azure robes of night,
And placed the star of glory there."

During the Revolution, commercial intercourse was cut off with Great Britain, giving fresh impulse to the manufactories which existed previous to its commencement, one of which, that of nails, was one of the first upon which Lord Chatham had placed his memorable prohibition, causing new establishments to spring into existence. On the return of peace, the great influx of foreign goods proved disastrous to the mechanical and manufacturing interests of the country. It was found impossible for the States, divided as they were in interest, by any uniform revenue system, to remedy the evil. "If one State, by separate navigation laws, attempted to secure the trade to their own vessels, the rivalry and selfish policy of others counteracted their efforts, which resulted in throwing almost the entire navigation interest of the country into foreign hands. That interest had fallen so low that it was found impossible, in 1778, to construct a ship in Boston but by subscription, which was induced by patriotic motives.—The shipping interest, and manufactures in general, petitioned the Government of Massachusetts to protect their industry." In compliance with their prayer, a Tariff of duties was laid. In the language of a gifted countryman, "the state of the country rendered these laws of little avail. Binding in Boston, they were of no validity in Rhode Island; and what was subject to duty in New York might be imported free in Connecticut and New Jersey. The state of the industry of the country was depressed to a point of distress unknown in the midnight of the Revolution. The shipping was dwindled to nothing—the manufacturing establishments were kept up by bounties, and by patriotic associations and subscriptions, and even the common trades were threatened with ruin. It was plain that not a hatter, a boot or shoemaker, a saddler, or a brass-founder could carry on his business, except in the commonest and most ordinary productions of their various trades, under the pressure of foreign competition. Thus was presented the extraordinary and calamitous spectacle of a successful revolution wholly failing of its ultimate object. The people of America had gone to war, not for names, but for things. It was not merely to change a Government administered by Kings, Princes, and Ministers, for a Government administered by Presidents, and Secretaries, and Members of Congress. It was to redress their own grievances—to improve their own condition—to throw off the burden which the Colonial system laid on their industry. To attain these objects, they endured incredible hardships, and bore and suffered almost beyond the measure of humanity; and when their independence was attained, they found it was a piece of parchment. The arm which had struck for it in the field, was palsied in the workshops—the industry which had been burdened in the Colonies, was crushed in the free States—and at the close of the Revolution, the mechanics and manufacturers of the country found themselves, in the bitterness of their hearts, independent—and ruined. They looked around them in despair—they cast about for means of relief, and found none, but the plan of voluntary associations throughout the continent, and an appeal to the patriotism of their fellow-citizens. Associations were formed in 1777 and 1778, and circular letters were addressed to their brethren throughout the Union. Combinations of the kind, unsupported by general laws must have proved ineffectual, but before this was discovered the day-star of the Constitution arose, and of all the classes of the people of America to whose hearts it came as the harbinger of blessings long hoped for and long despaired of, most unquestionably the tradesmen, mechanics, and manufacturers hailed it with the warmest welcome. It had, in fact, grown out of the all-pervading inefficiency and wretchedness of the revenue system, which had been felt in ruin by them more than by any other class. The feelings with which its adoption was regarded by the traders and manufacturers of the country is manifested in the congratulatory letters passing from one association to another, followed up by petitions to Congress, praying for protection."—

This shows in what light they regarded it, and furnishes an instructive lesson; but as my remarks would be extended to an unreasonable length, I must omit them in detail.

Such were the feelings and hopes with which the laboring classes of the country, particularly the manufacturers and mechanics, looked forward to the adoption of the Constitution. In the State of Massachusetts, it is admitted that the question of adoption was decided under the influence of the tradesmen and manufacturers, already mentioned. It was declared in debate, in the convention of the State of Massachusetts, that the encouragement of manufacturers was declared to be the early and avowed object of the Constitution. As it was successively adopted in each State, triumphal processions of the tradesmen, mechanics, and manufacturers, with their banners and mottoes expressive of their reliance upon the new constitution for protection, evinced in the most imposing form, in the presence of uncounted multitudes, the principles, the expectations, and the hopes of the industrial classes of the country. "Processions of the kind were organized in Portsmouth, in Boston, in New York, in Philadelphia, in Baltimore, and in Charleston, and the sentiment which animated and inspired them all was the same as that expressed in the motto inscribed upon the banner of the manufacturers of Philadelphia: 'May the Union Government protect the manufacturers of America.'"

Such was the avowed sentiments of the mechanics and manufacturers of the country, and such their influence over public sentiment, that it is evident, from the vote upon the adoption of the Constitution in several of the States, that it would not have been adopted if it had not been generally understood that it imparted to the General Government all the power necessary to protect the industry of the country.*

Mr. Madison brought forward the revenue system early in the session of the first Congress, which convened under the Constitution in 1789; and while this measure was being discussed, numerous memorials were presented from different sections of the Union, praying Congress to adopt suitable measures to protect the industry of the country from foreign competition. The first one presented came from the tradesmen, manufacturers, and others, of the town of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, "praying an imposition of such duties on all foreign articles which can be made in America as will give a just and decided preference to the labor of the petitioners, and that there may be granted to them, in common with the other manufacturers and mechanics of the United States, such relief as to the wisdom of Congress may think proper." And where do you think the next petition came from? From Boston? No. From New York? No. From Philadelphia? No, sir; but from the shipwrights of Charleston, South Carolina.

[Here Mr. SIMPSON, of South Carolina, rose and called Mr. PATTERSON to order for irrelevancy.]

The SPEAKER decided that he was in order; and he proceeded, amidst cries of "Go on!" "You are in order!"

"Stating the distress they were in from the decline of that branch of their business, and the present situation of the trade of the United States, and praying that the wisdom and policy of the National Legislature may be directed to such measures, in the general regulation of trade and the establishment of a proper navigation act, as will relieve the particular distress of the petitioners, in common with their fellow shipwrights throughout the Union."

* The Constitution was ratified by Pennsylvania, on the 13th of December, 1787, by vote of 46 to 23; by Massachusetts, on the 6th of February, 1778, by a vote of 187 to 168; by New Hampshire, 21st June, 1788, by a vote of 57 to 46; by New York, 26th July, 1788, by a vote of 34 to 25.

[Here Mr. SIMPSON rose again to a point of order. His point was "Irrelevance."] "

The SPEAKER decided that he was in order.]

I conceive I am in order, Mr. Speaker. I am discussing the Tariff policy as a source of revenue, and intend nothing uncourteous to South Carolina. New York and other cities followed, praying Congress for similar relief. Mr. Madison said in the debate upon the act introduced by himself, that "the States that are the most advanced in population and ripe for manufactures ought to have their particular interests attended to in some degree. While the States retained the power of making regulations of trade, they had the power to protect and cherish such institutions. By adopting the present Constitution, they have thrown the exercise of this power into other hands. They must have done this, with the expectation that those interests would not be neglected here."

"Duties laid on imported articles may have an effect which comes within the idea of national prudence. It may happen that materials for manufacture may grow up without any encouragement for this purpose. It has been the case in some of the States; but in others regulations have been provided, and have succeeded in producing some establishments, which ought not to be allowed to perish from the alteration which has taken place; it would be cruel to neglect them and turn their industry into other channels, for it is not possible for the hand of man to shift from one employment to another without being injured by the change. There may be some manufactures, which, being over-forward, can advance towards perfection without any adventitious aid; while others, for the want of the fostering hand of Government, will be unable to go on at all. Legislative attention will, therefore, be necessary to collect the proper objects for this purpose."

[Here Mr. CULLOM, of Tennessee, called Mr. P. to order. His point of order was the same as that of Mr. SIMPSON.]

In the midst of cries of "Go on!" "You are in order!" the CHAIR decided that he was in order.]

I conceive, Mr. Speaker, that the Tariff as a source of revenue is directly connected with appropriations for the Belgium mission as well as all others; but, as I am unwilling to intrude upon the courtesy of the House, I will pass over much of what I intended to occupy its time with. ["Print them," was the cry, "if you do not give us the whole of it."]

This is the argument of the Father of the Constitution. Will any one pretend, after reading it, that Mr. Madison did not believe that the General Government possessed the power, and was in duty bound to protect the industry of the country. The preamble indicates that such is the case. It is in these words: "For the support of Government, and the discharge of the debt of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures." If it was understood by any one in any other light, it is singular that the ground was not assumed during that lengthy debate. The benefit of the protecting principle was by no means confined to the Northern States, but was extended to the South, whose agricultural interests were among the first to reap the benefit of it. A heavy duty was laid on manufactured tobacco, which was the only form the imported article could in competition with the production of the South. Roger Sherman supported it upon the ground that the importation of the article ought to be prohibited. A duty was also laid upon indigo; both of which was a tax upon the labor of the North for the benefit of the Southern planter. A high duty was also levied on hemp, in favor of which Southern members allege "that the lands were adapted to the growth of it, and that its culture would be pursued with attention." "But the most prominent case of protection for the benefit of the South is, the duty imposed on raw cotton for the avowed purpose of in-

ducing its growth." At that time cotton mills were in operation in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and some other places, and duties had been levied by some of the States for the protection and encouragement of this important branch of industry. All the cotton consumed by them was imported, the South having, up to that time, produced no more than was wanted for domestic use—none was exported. Cotton, as an American production, was not known in any European port. In the bill of which I have been speaking, introduced by Mr. Madison, a duty of three cents a pound was imposed on cotton, in the Senate, for the purpose of inducing its culture in this country. A member from South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, advocated its adoption upon the ground that "cotton was in contemplation, as an article of produce, by the planters of South Carolina and Georgia, and that, if good seed could be obtained, he hoped it might succeed." It was upon this ground the duty was imposed. On the 5th of December, 1791, in compliance with an order of the House of Representatives, General Hamilton made his celebrated report on manufactures, in which he says, "that the present duty of three cents per pound on the foreign raw material was undoubtedly a very serious impediment to the manufacturers of cotton, and that a repeal of it is indispensable for the prosperity of manufacturers."

Such was the influence of Southern Representatives, (for South Carolina has always been ably represented here,) that the duty was not repealed, notwithstanding Mr. Hamilton exerted himself in its behalf. When this branch of manufactures was in its infancy in the northern and middle States, it was compelled to struggle against foreign competition, paying this duty for the benefit of Southern planters, in order that they might explore the tropics from the Gulf of Mexico through the wide circle of the earth, "for a species of cotton seed that would thrive in their climate." Every ounce of cotton consumed by the humblest cottager in the land, paid this duty for years, for the benefit of the Southern planter. As late as 1796, the proprietors of a cotton mill on the Brandywine, petitioned Congress to repeal the duty on raw cotton, which was rejected by the Committee of Commerce and Manufacturers, on the ground, "that to repeal the duty on raw cotton imported would be to depress the growth of cotton in our own country." It was then strictly a protective duty to the full extent of the amount imposed. Up to the present hour, it protects the cotton planter against foreign competition, otherwise he would have to compete in our own markets with foreign cotton, as he does in the markets of Europe. This duty has been maintained without change since it was first imposed, notwithstanding the South and the North have recommended its repeal at different times. Mr. Forsyth, of Georgia, advocated its repeal in 1816, at which time South Carolina, through her Representatives, was instrumental in fastening upon Massachusetts a protective tariff, to which she was opposed. South Carolina, it seems, at that time understood the true interest of Massachusetts better than she did herself—she drove her into manufacturing against her will. Even as late as 1824 and 1828, her Representatives were found voting for a protective tariff. She comes then with bad grace at this late day to demand of Massachusetts that she shall abandon the protective policy, however destructive it may prove to her vast manufacturing interest, upon the ground of the exploded abstractionism, that the Constitution has not granted to the General Government the power to enact laws discriminating for protection. More than half a century has passed away since the adoption of the Constitution, and in the face of numerous instances of South Carolina's sanctioning the constitutionality of protection, her Representatives are found at each returning session of Congress, denouncing its unconstitutionality. One of her Representatives, (the Hon. Mr. BURT,) said, "Did gentlemen expect that the people of the Southern States would submit to discrimination like that—he did not mean to use the

language of menace here—he did not mean to say what in his belief the South would do, because it might not become the propriety of debate in this Hall, but he would say the West had already spoken, and the South would not submit to this system, that they would not submit to be put in the relation to the North of dejected and despised colonies, and if they would submit to it they were slaves and deserved their destiny.” Another Representative of South Carolina is still more denunciatory of the tariff, and speaks in tones that would seem to indicate that if the system of discrimination for protection was maintained by the North, that the South would at no distant day break asunder the bonds of this glorious Union. While the Hon. gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. BELSER,) says he is beginning to lose the respect with which he had been taught to regard that sacred instrument. No true American can look upon forebodings of this kind, without a melancholy heart.

It is to be expected that the ghost of the murdered Constitution, which like the ghost of murdered Banquo, is ever up and never down, will be seen in its gastly ceremonies flitting through our Representative Halls, just so long as each Representative adopts the latitudinous doctrine of construing the Constitution as he understands it, unless parasidal hands, armed with the strength of a Sampson, shall hurl the pillars of the Constitution itself from their centre, tumbling them promiscuously to the earth, burying it beneath its ruins. The sooner the doctrine of unconstitutionality is abandoned, the better it will be for the country. There is but one opinion upon this subject in the North. I have no doubt that my political opponents in my own district, as well as throughout the State, if they were not to conceal, but express, their true sentiments on the subject, however much we may differ upon other matters, would take me by the hand, bidding me God speed in maintaining the rights of the General Government to discriminate for protection. But I do not stand up here, Mr. Speaker, to advocate any measure that is grossly unjust and inequitable in its bearing upon different sections of the country, even if coming within the strict letter of the Constitution—nor would the people of the North insist upon the continuance of any law if they believed it was in reality oppressive to a large portion of their countrymen, as they are ready at all times to share their portion of the burdens of Government, and submit to any laws bearing alike upon every portion of the country. If the protective policy is so oppressive to the South and West, it is singular that the merchants whose operations are extended over every section of the Union, and whose interests are liable to be affected by any thing that depresses any portion of the country, should be so universally in favor of it. I have received letters from a great many eminent merchants, urging the importance of sustaining our present tariff, contrasting the bettered condition of the whole country under its influence, with the bankruptcy and ruin which prevailed everywhere under the recent revenue tariff. No class of community can so well judge of its effects as the merchants, they feel its influence in the bettered condition of the smaller merchants scattered throughout the land, whose increased ability to pay is a true barometer indicative of the healthy condition of the country. It has been asked in the other branch of Congress, what we at the North would do, if the South, with the superior advantage of cheap labor, should become manufacturers. Let them embark in it, it is doubtless their true interest. The North will bid them God speed, and if they drive us from that field of enterprise, and we cannot make a living in cultivating mother earth among our rocks and our mountains, rather than quarrel with her for maintaining the only truly independent principle for the people of this country, that of the protection of its industry against foreign competition, we will travel still farther North, mount an iceberg and fish for seal. But I must leave this branch of the subject, and proceed to discuss more practicable matters.

According to the doctrine of the advocates of Free Trade and a horizontal Tariff, or a Tariff discriminating for revenue only—who contend that the duty imposed on any article enhances its value, to the full extent of the duty, to the consumer, and that it does not end with the article imported upon which duty is collected, but it enhances the value of every article of the same kind produced in this country, to the same extent—no Tariff or system of revenue would be equitable and just, that was not confined to such articles as are not produced in the country, and must necessarily come from abroad; otherwise, the consumer would be subjected to a two-fold tax. Can it be expected that doctrines so anti-American will ever be tolerated in this country? Yet, if it be true, that the whole product of the country is enhanced in value to the extent of the duty collected upon foreign imports, and that it is wrong, inequitable, and unconstitutional, the argument covers the whole ground, and duties cannot be justly imposed upon any other articles than those we cannot produce. The South, jealous as it is of any infringement of its rights, I trust, will not attempt to force this odious doctrine upon the country.

There is a wide difference of opinion as to the truth of the argument, that articles imported, which come in competition with articles produced in this country, are enhanced in value to the full extent of the duty levied upon them; and, while the South will argue themselves into the belief that such is the case, by metaphysical disquisitions, the Yankee will work out, by calculations predicated upon facts, quite a different result. I had sought, from other sources, facts applicable to the case, when the able report of the Committee on Manufactures made its appearance, and saved me the trouble of compiling much of what I had collected. For such facts as I have availed myself of, I take this opportunity to tender my acknowledgments to the able Chairman of that Committee. From that report it appears that there was a falling off in the price of sundry articles manufactured in this country, between August, 1841, the time of the passage of the present Tariff, and January, 1844, as follows:

On 27 inch brown shirtings	-	8 per cent.	On Swedes iron	-	-	8 per cent.
30 do. do. do.	-	3 do.	English, assorted	-	-	6 do.
37 do. do. sheeting	-	4 do.	Pig copper	-	-	7½ do.
40 do. do. do.	-	9 do.	Anvils	-	-	10 do.
36to38 do. do. do.	-	6 do.	English bars, refin'd, roll'd	-	-	24 do.
30 do. do. drill	-	13 do.	American refined	-	-	28 do.
30 do. do. jeans	-	32 do.	Swedish hammered	-	-	25 do.
Leather in Baltimore, Phil.			Wrought nails	-	-	17 do.
N. York, & Boston	20 to 26	do.	Cut nails	-	-	19 do.
Molasses	-	2c. per. gal.	Pigs	-	-	22 do.
Hemp, different kinds	11 to 16	per cent.	Braziers' rods	-	-	33 do.
American cordage	-	15 do.	Scythes	-	-	30 do.
Pitch	-	12 do.	Shovels	-	-	27 do.
Rosin	-	35 do.	Tacks	-	-	33 to 41 do.
Anchors	-	18 do.	Brads	-	-	46 do.
Copper sheathing	-	10 do.	Wire	-	-	17 to 36 do.

The falling off on glassware, wood screws, and sundry other articles of hardware, is equally great, not only at New York, but in different sections of the Union. In 1828, the duty on molasses was increased from 5 to 10 cents per gallon, at which time, under a duty of 5 cents, it was bringing 30 cents per gallon: from 1829 to 1832, when paying a duty of 10 cents per gallon, it sold at from 25 to 27 cents per gallon. A great many other articles might be enumerated, which have also declined in price since 1841, while the majority of agricultural productions have advanced in price, as will appear by the following table:

Articles which have advanced in price.

On Pork, clean	-	-	21	per cent.
Pork, mess	-	-	35	do.
Pork, prime	-	-	65	do.
Oats	-	-	14	do.
White beans	-	-	35	do.
Full blood American wool			8	do.
Half do.	do.	do.	16	do.
Cotton	-	-	25	do.

Average rise, 25 per cent.

Articles which have declined in price.

On Mess country beef	-	16	per cent.
Navy	do.	-	10 do.
Hams	-	-	15 do.
Lard	-	-	7 do.
Flour	-	-	10 do.
Corn	-	-	7 do.

Average fall 9 7-5 per cent.

By these tables it appears that every article imported into the country, paying an increased duty under the present Tariff, have declined in price, while agricultural products alone have increased. What stronger evidence can be required to show that the condition of the country has vastly improved since the Tariff of 1842 took effect? The balance of trade, which was against us, draining the country of specie, destroying confidence, ruining the currency, blasting hopes, and bankrupting estates—like the Destroying Angel, dealing death in advance, and leaving desolation in the rear: now, that is changed in our favor, by reason of the restraining influence which the Tariff has had upon imports, in substituting the production of our own industry in place of the foreign article, bringing back to the country specie in a golden flood, and restoring the currency once more to a healthy condition—much of which is attributable to the Tariff.

It is denied that the Tariff has been the cause of the falling off in the price of manufactured articles, and claimed that the decline in the price of labor, improvement in machinery, &c., have reduced prices. To some extent, this may be true; but there has been no such decline in wages, or improvement in machinery abroad, as would warrant a reduction of prices to one-half the extent the price of manufactured articles have declined. Competition has done it.—Manufacturing is beginning to obtain a firm footing, by reason of the confidence which the Tariff has imparted to that interest, throwing around it a healthy atmosphere, in which it is becoming invigorated and rising into manhood, by the aid of ample capital to enable those embarked in it to perfect their establishments and to protect themselves against the influence of foreign capital in some measure, by which they are already enabled to compete in foreign markets successfully with Great Britain in the production of some of the coarser kinds of goods, creating a healthy competition at home, which will reduce the price of most articles to the lowest point at which they can be produced, the fruits of which are already manifested in the decline of very many articles. Suppose we should adopt the Free Trade doctrine—destroy our manufactories and depend upon foreign countries for supplies—how long would it be before Great Britain, France, and other European countries, supplying us, as they would, with different articles not coming in competition with each other, having the control of the market, before prices would advance beyond any duty which would be necessary to protect the industry of the country and maintain a wholesome competition at home? That this would be the result, no one can doubt: all experience shows it.—Gentlemen from the West can appreciate the force of the argument. The gentleman from Indiana, (Mr. WRIGHT,) tells us that his constituents pay double the prime cost of every article of merchandise they purchase. This may be so; and it is the fruit of an entire absence of competition. A merchant sits down in a remote district of country, in the supply of which he has no competitor, and his profits are sure to be exorbitant. Open some new communication, by way of a canal or railroad, upon which a marketing town springs up and competition is introduced, and profits very soon fall from 100 per cent. down to 25 or 20. The effect is the same with manufacturing. If I may be permitted, I will read a letter from an importer to the editor of the New York Tribune, and published some

time since, and also one from an extensive importing firm in the city of New York to me, which show the workings of the Tariff in reducing prices :

“It is often asserted by the advocates of Free Trade that the consumer pays the duty imposed by the Tariff in all cases. This is grossly untrue, because we manufacture many articles cheaper than they could be imported without any duty. But the Free Trader says this is specially true in regard to those articles which are not made here. On one article I can speak from personal knowledge, viz, crockery, of which there is but one small manufactory in this country having no influence on its price.

“By the late Tariff the duty was raised from 20 to 30 per cent. This article is regulated in England by a list made in 1814, and from this price a discount is made. Before the passage of the Tariff, the discount was (for cash in England) 45 per cent. An importation would then stand thus on, say,

	£100
45 per cent. discount	45

	£55
Duty 20 per cent.	11

Cost, including duty	£66
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“Immediately on the passage of the Tariff, the British manufacturers increased their discount to 50 per cent, and an importation now stands thus, on

	£100
50 per cent. discount	50

	£50
Duty 30 per cent.	15

£65

“Thus showing that the article is now imported $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. cheaper, besides the gain on exchange, &c. In this case, then, the increase of duty was in fact paid by the British manufacturer, who met that increase by a larger discount; and the article is now sold by the jobber 10 per cent. lower than in 1841.

AN IMPORTER.”

[*Extract of a letter from New York, dated February 23, 1844.*]

“With regard to the effect of the late Tariff upon iron, it is a subject that we have looked at with some care, and have little hesitation in expressing our opinion, which is, that iron is not higher under the present duty than it would have been under a 20 per cent. duty; in other words, that the foreign producer pays the duty. And, again, we have no doubt that if, for example, the present Congress should reduce the duty on rolled iron (now paying \$25 a ton) five dollars or ten dollars a ton, the English ironmasters would at once advance their price twenty shillings or forty shillings sterling a ton, and get it.

“We are satisfied of this, not only from former experience, but from the present features of the foreign iron market. It would be naturally supposed, and is often said, that, with the immense domestic consumption of iron in England, and their other large markets, the loss of ours could not sensibly affect the price; but it does practically do it, and on this principle, that is, the surplus of an article on the market depresses the price—so that if, in a production of six or eight hundred thousand tons, the usual market for fifty thousand is cut off, the whole mass must suffer till a reduced price or a diminished production gives an outlet for the surplus. Your millers are well aware of this in flour. It is the ten or fifty thousand barrels too much that make them all the trouble.

“Why do our disinterested countrymen declaim so strong about the English corn laws? Is it that they hope, at a reduced duty, the poor operative may buy his flour cheaper, or that we may sell it dearer?

“We have many illustrations of the way in which our duties affect prices abroad. A striking example is in recent quotations. Hoop iron, which was formerly 10 to 20s. per ton more, is now quoted 20s. less than refined bar iron. The reason is, our duty on hoop iron is increased in a greater proportion, and they must sell it for this, or not sell it at all.”

The effect is the same upon every article imported into this country, coming in competition with articles of our own manufacture. The home market of every country is the most important one, the exports forming but a small proportion of the article produced, and the manufacturer finds it for his interest to crowd off his surplus at prime cost, and sometimes at a trifling loss, if, by doing so, he

can get rid of his surplus, maintain prices at home, and keep his establishment moving. Hence it is, that if we find the foreign manufacturer, upon the imposition of additional duties, continuing to supply our markets, and competing with our manufacturers by reducing prices so low that, in many instances, the consumer obtains the imported article at a less price than he did before the duty was advanced. Do away with competition, and the price rises. Destroy your own manufactories, and you are at the mercy of foreigners, who will not long continue to supply you at prices below which the articles cannot be produced.

It is contended that under our Tariff manufacturers are a privileged class—that the agriculturist needs none, nor does he desire any protection from it. Let us see if that be the case, and how the matter stands. At prices agricultural products were bringing in January last, they would pay, if imported, the following duty :

Cotton, 3 cents per lb. or	30	per cent. ad val.	Butter, 5 cts. per lb. or	51	per cent. ad val.
Wool, 30 p.c. and 3 c p lb.	40	"	Potatoes, 9 " per bu.	36	"
Beef, 2 cents per lb. or	64	"	Flour, 122½ " per bbl.	25	"
Pork, 2 " "	34	"	Wheat, 25 " per bu.	25	"
Bacon, 3 " "	52	"	Oats, 10 " "	33	"
Lard, 3 " "	50	"	Hemp, \$40 per ton, or	30	"
Cheese, 9 " "	180	"			

On the articles enumerated there is an average duty of 50 per cent. That these articles need protection is shown by the fact that there are more or less of them imported, notwithstanding the duties are high. Take the four articles of hemp, wheat, potatoes, and wool exceeding in value 8 cents per pound, and the importation for the last six years averages \$238,000 annually, more than the average of wheat and flour exported to Great Britain during the same period.—Many other articles are protected, which directly benefit the agriculturist.

It appears by the last census that there were 792,000 persons engaged in manufacturing, add to which the laborers in and about the various establishments, with their families and dependents, and it will swell the number to near four millions, which may be regarded as the manufacturing population of the country, all of whom are consumers of agricultural products. Change this population into producers, and where would be your market?

"It is said to be ascertained that the Glenham Woollen Factory, at Fishkill, in New York, with a capital of \$140,000, gives profitable employment to \$1,432,000 of other capital, chiefly agricultural, in items as follows: 66,000 sheep, at \$2 a head, \$132,000; 22,000 acres of pasture land, to feed sheep, in Dutchess county, supposed to be worth \$50 per acre, \$1,100,000; farms employed to the extent of 2,600 acres, worth \$70 an acre, \$182,000; other capital, to furnish tenants fire wood and provender, &c., \$8,000: consequently, if \$140,000 manufacturing capital employs \$1,432,000 of other capital, then the \$300,000,000 manufacturing capital in the United States, at the same rate, would employ other capital of the country to the amount of \$3,068,571,428. This shows that American manufactures give employment to a vast amount of agricultural capital."

The farmers of the country, of which class more than a million are engaged in growing wool, receive annually forty millions of dollars from this source, and for the subsistence of operatives in woollen and iron establishments, twenty-six millions—in all sixty six millions—being more than eight times as much as all the American flour, beef, and pork consumed by all the foreign markets of the world.

It appears by the estimate of the Commissioner of Patents, that the quantity of wheat raised in the United States in 1842, was 102 317,340 bushels, and, by the commercial document, that the whole amount of wheat sent abroad, estimating five bushels to the barrel, was only 7,235,968 bushels, being about one-fifteenth of the whole crop. It also appears that there was raised the same year, in

the country, 441,829,246 bushels of Indian corn, and the commercial document shows that only 1,684,000 bushels were sent out of the country. The importance of a home market will appear from the fact that the New England States consume annually, beyond their own production, 7,000,000 bushels of wheat, which is about 500,000 bushels more than the average exports of the whole country. Of other grain, Massachusetts and Rhode Island consume, of the products of other States, at least 3,675,000 bushels, nearly three times the amount sent abroad annually. Massachusetts *alone* consumes, of the products of other States, more than forty millions of dollars, equal to one half the annual exports of the produce of the United States, exclusive of manufactured articles. It is estimated by Mr. Hudson that the four millions of persons dependant upon manufactures, furnish a market to Western States worth ten times as much as all other markets in the world.

With the exception of cotton and tobacco, our agricultural products exported do not exceed sixteen millions annually. All the rest of our immense products, amounting to more than \$2,000,000, is consumed at home, always finding a certain market, while the foreign market is uncertain, depending, more or less, upon the crop in Europe, where, if the crop is abundant, the excess is thrown back upon the home market, reducing the price of the whole crop, or is forced abroad at a great sacrifice. "The annual production of wool may be estimated at \$16,000,000—withdraw protection from that interest, and it must, in a great measure, be abandoned: protect wool and neglect to protect the woollen manufacturer, and you destroy the home market for wool." Protection does not destroy commerce; on the contrary, it tends to increase it: the freight of die-stuffs, barilla, and the thousand articles imported, which are consumed in manufacturing, employ a ten-fold greater amount of shipping than would be required to bring the manufactured article to the country. In case a protective Tariff did injure commerce, would there be any good reason why the interests of the 792,000 engaged in manufacturing should be sacrificed to benefit the 117,000 engaged in commerce?

The average price of flour and wheat in the United States, from 1831 to 1841, was, according to the prices current of those years, \$6.65 per barrel, and \$1.30 a bushel, whereas, the average price, during the same period, in Europe, was \$4.93 a barrel, and 98 cents a bushel; which shows how much wheat and flour must have declined in this country, before it could have found a foreign market. Not one-twentieth of the products of the country are marketed abroad, which shows how unimportant the foreign market is, when compared with the home market. "From 1836 to 1840, the average annual exports of all our agricultural products, exclusive of cotton, was only \$11,766,615, of which \$5,353,818 was the annual export to Great Britain. Our whole average exports, for the same time, was \$102,588,892, of which the export of cotton was \$64,238,235, leaving only \$33,350,367 as the average annual export of all our products for those years." Although our exports at times have increased, yet that increase has been mainly confined to cotton.

During ten years, from 1820 to 1830, of tolerable protective policy, we paid off one hundred millions of foreign debt. During the next ten years, from 1830 to 1840, of comparative Free Trade, we contracted a foreign debt of two hundred millions. During the first period, our imports were \$798,500,000—during the second period they were \$1,302,500,000, being nearly double the amount imported during the first. From 1835 to 1840, the golden era of Free Trade, the balance of trade against us was more than \$132,000,000, bankrupting and distressing the country beyond endurance. A great deal is said about the inequality of the present Tariff, and one would suppose, from representations upon this floor, that our system of taxation was the most grinding in the world.

Great Britain, under her new Tariff, for which she has so much credit awarded her, imposes upon our salt beef a duty of 60 per cent., bacon 109 per cent., butter 70 per cent., corn 32 per cent., flour 32 per cent. average, unmanufactured tobacco 1000 per cent., manufactured tobacco 1200 per cent., salt pork 33 per cent., soap 200 per cent., spirits from grain 500 per cent., spirits from molasses 1600 per cent., making a large discrimination in favor of her colonies, intended as a protection to her own industry. Nor is this policy confined to Great Britain. Every other country has adopted the same general policy. "While Mexico has adopted recently a Tariff which is prohibitory, Chili and the other Governments of South America impose a duty almost equal to that of Great Britain upon our productions. The policy of Spain is prohibitory. Portugal, Russia, and the Netherlands prohibit substantially our bread stuffs, says Mr. Hudson, while France adopts the principle of protecting her own industry, prohibiting generally iron and its manufactured articles, shoes, carriages, cotton and woollen goods, cut and window glass, and whatever else comes in competition with her own industry." From this view of the policy of other nations, the Committee, as I think, wisely come to the conclusion that we should not relax our present policy. One would suppose that, taxed and rejected as the products of this country are by other countries, the strictest constructionist would acknowledge the propriety of a discriminating Tariff, if upon no other ground than to countervail the unequal restrictions upon our own products, in self-defence. In 1841, our imports were \$127,945,000, and our exports \$91,000,000. Upon the amount imported, we collected $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duties, amounting to \$14,487,000; whereas, foreign countries collected upon our exports, that year, \$113,500,000, or 124 per cent.—There was a time when the people of this country would have cried out, as one man, against so unequal a policy—declaring, in the spirit of true patriotism, that we had millions for defence, and that we will no longer pay so unequal a tribute without hurling back the blow. The spirit and independence of the golden age has departed, and the strife appears to be, on this floor, to obtain the unenviable distinction of being most instrumental in reducing the people of this country to colonial vassalage.

Some time since there appeared about to be formed a matrimonial alliance upon this floor between the South and the West. The honorable gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. HOLMES,) who made the learned and constitutional argument so convincing to himself that the most refined abstractionist could not discover anything in an appropriation for the improvement of the Western rivers that in the least infringed upon the Constitution, in the capacity of a lover, commenced early in the session to woo, and apparently was about not only to win the affection, but to obtain the heart and hand of the beautiful Western bride who seemed ready to surrender herself, with all her virgin charms, into the arms of the gallant and chivalrous South Carolina, who held out to her in the improvement of their rivers and the destruction of the Tariff, which were the conditions of the match, assurances of her realizing the brightest promises of hope. How the matter stands, and what progress has been made, I do not pretend to know. At the time, appearances indicated, that, as the match was a most distinguished one, the nuptials would be celebrated with all pomp and ceremony, and that in due time the parties would set forth upon a magnificent bridal tour around the world; their interests being separate, notwithstanding they had taken each other for better or for worse, the worse being sure all along to fall to the lot of the Western bride, as they were to act as supercargoes of divided interests, each diplomatising for themselves in all their commercial operations. They will appear, of course, in the great commercial marts of Europe—England, France, Germany, and elsewhere—flushed with extravagant anticipations, and robed in all the dignity of their high diplomatic mission, exhibiting the scroll upon which is recorded the

principles of Free Trade, a horizontal Tariff, and 20 per cent. duties—undeniable evidence of the immense sacrifices of their country to the modern abstractionism—Free Trade. They will be met and congratulated for their far-reaching wisdom in adopting the doctrine of Free Trade, which, they will be told, is exactly adapted to the United States, who alone of all the nations of the earth can reap a golden harvest under its dispensation. The cargo of the gentleman from South Carolina will be in such demand that he will be permitted to enter England or France, with all his commodities, by paying a mere nominal tribute, because they have to compete with the world in the markets of the gentleman from South Carolina, as well as those of the West, in the sale of the identical article purchased of him; enhanced in value hundreds of per cent. by reason of foreign labor bestowed upon it. While the confiding bride, who had been induced to join her fortune to his, with the assurance that the expedition would end in their mutual weal, instead of which, when too late, finds with all her blandishment and charms, that she is not to be treated with common civility, many of her articles meeting with total rejection, while others are only admitted at 30, 50, 100 to 1600 per cent.; and although she may remonstrate against such ruinous conditions, and the ingallantry of him who had espoused her but to deceive, deserting her in the hour of trial when his aid was most needed, and when it would have been supposed, such was the sacrifices she had made in confiding her fortunes to his guidance, that his manly nature would have risen in arms, making common cause with her against such unrighteous demands, instead of which, the chivalry which the South inherited from their fathers will have departed, and he would be found repudiating his fair spouse, suffering her to continue knocking in vain at the doors of the great commercial temples for admission on more liberal terms, until “her locks are wet with the dew-drops of the night,” when, at last, heart broken and dejected, she is compelled to pay the ungenerous tribute, and returns home, bankrupted in estate, and dispirited, her indulgent mother would demand a divorce from so unholy a union; which, I will venture to predict, that, should her Representatives upon this floor ever attempt to renew, they would not be permitted, the second time, an opportunity to disgrace her fair fame and bankrupt her estate. No, sir, the manufacturing interest, suitably protected, is yet to form the proudest jewel in the crown of the West.

I believe it is conceded by all writers upon political economy, that population is wealth to a nation. What purely agricultural nation has ever become very wealthy, or densely populated in modern times? On the contrary, is not every nation most elevated in its condition, both morally and intellectually, and enjoying the greatest amount of this world's comfort, more or less a manufacturing nation? If this be the case, and I understand it to be so, and that it is equally certain that we cannot become a manufacturing people and compete with the old world without ample protection, until our population is reduced to the degraded and miserable condition of the laboring classes abroad, which may God in his mercy long protect us from. If population is wealth—a sufficient amount of which can never be attained in purely agricultural pursuits to develop all the resources of the country, and to better, at the same time, the condition of the agriculturist—the question arises, how, or in what possible way, can that population be obtained, but by protecting and fostering every branch of home industry? Nothing appears more clear than that the object cannot be obtained in any other way.

Western gentlemen object to this, because, as they say, it is building up the manufacturing interest at the expense of the agriculturalist. Nothing is more falacious, in my humble opinion, than this argument. On the contrary, the agricultural interest is benefitted ten fold beyond the petty tax that it is subject

to, in consequence of any Tariff necessary to protect manufactures in the country against foreign competition—nor is there any section of country to be more extensively benefitted through all coming time by a manufacturing population than the fair and beautiful West. What is it that equalises the markets through the length and breadth, from the centre to the extreme of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, but the immense cities built up by its vast manufacturing interests—making the agricultural products of the country worth as much at Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Glasgow, hundreds of miles from London, as in that city? Clearly nothing. Without these cities, the markets for the remote sections of the country would be London, the productions of which would be subjected to no inconsiderable expense in transporting it to market, which is now entirely saved to the agriculturalist by reason of his home market, without which there would be many articles of that class most profitable to produce which would not bare transportation, such as hay, fruit, vegetables, milk, &c., from the production of which they would be cut off. What is it but the superior advantage of the markets at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and all our large towns for every kind of agricultural production, and more particularly that class of articles which will not bare transportation, that makes the land in the neighborhood of those cities and towns worth one hundred to five hundred dollars an acre, while better improved lands in the West may be obtained from five to twenty dollars the acre. Suppose a Manchester, a Birmingham, a Leeds, and a Glasgow should rise up in Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Iowa, making a home market, would they not make the country around these cities a garden, enhance the value of real estate, equalizing the price of agricultural productions as in England? Think you not that the agricultural interest of that region would be benefitted vastly beyond any tax it would be subjected to in consequence of a Tariff sufficiently high to enable manufacturers to sustain themselves against foreign competition? The doctrine of Free Trade appears much better on paper than in practice, if it is to result, as it must, in the the prostration of our own manufacturing interest, making us dependent upon foreigners for many of the necessities as well as most of the luxuries of life. No policy is so well calculated to impoverish the country, and make the great mass of the people, who in this country must always be agriculturists, hewers of wood and drawers of water to the commercial interest and to foreigners. There are many portions of the West at this time from which it would cost to transport a bushel of wheat to England, including insurance, commissions, &c., for selling, some eighty-seven and a half cents, add to which five shillings for duty, and it will cost in England one dollar and fifty cents, leaving to the producer in Illinois, after paying all charges, taking the average price to be in the English markets, one dollar and seventy-five cents—twenty-five cents a bushel—the freight alone amounting to more than three-fourths of a dollar per bushel, while the average freight of the articles returned to Illinois to pay with would not exceed an English penny for each bushel. Does it not follow, then, that the Western farmer is taxed by a system of Free Trade for the benefit of British manufactures vastly beyond what he would be required to contribute in the way of protecting the manufacturer at home who would be able to give him a much larger quantity of his manufactured articles for the productions of his farm than they would bring him in foreign markets.

Is it not clear, then, that this system of Free Trade, which, by the way, would be free on one side to foreigners and foreign production, while it would be prohibition and everlasting taxation on the part of all the productions of this country, is directly calculated to impoverish the country, particularly the agricultural interest for the benefit of foreigners; a few common carriers, and the

commercial interest of the country—raising up a few overgrown and splendid Atlantic cities to the total destruction of any thing of the kind in the country? Nothing appears more clear to me than that it would reduce the people of this country to the deplorable condition of those of Europe, prostituting and prostrating our boasted independence, making us slaves in fact, although free in name, instead of that elevated, free, intellectual, and high minded race which our fathers, the founders of the Republic, in their visions of glory, anticipated we should be.

The honorable gentleman from Mississippi, (Mr. HAMMETT,) in a speech upon another subject, made upon this floor some time since, drew a contrast between the slaves of this country and the laborers of Italy and France, showing the condition of the former to be vastly superior to that of the latter. It fell to my lot, a few years since, to witness the condition of the European laborer. When in Portugal—once so powerful and wealthy, the discoveries of India, from whom Great Britain at one time was compelled to obtain a permit to pass around the Cape of Good Hope—while wandering along the Tagus, whose golden and jewelled sands had jemmied the earth, from whence the gallant Exmouth, in her palmy days, had borne beneath the broad pendant of the Mistress of the Seas, an Empress to the Imperial sea-girt Isle—at Grenada, in Spain, that earthly Eden and lost Paradise of the Moors, in the midst of flowers and fruit forever fair—along the Garon and Loir, the garden of France, in the midst of beautiful chateaus and vine-clad hills—where the sweet notes of the Nightingale enchant the groves with music scarcely less of heavenly origin than if the morning stars had sang together—all nature seemed rejoicing, while man, alone, for whose benefit all these things were created, appeared unhappy, the veriest slave in existence, chained down to the earth, and forced, like the quarry slave, to work from morning to night for barely enough to keep from starvation—mechanics and the laborer of the field, making their noon day meal upon a crust of bread and water, with now and then the rare luxury of fruit. It was then that I turned to my own, my native land, with exultation, and thanked my God that the condition of my countrymen was elevated so far above those children of poverty and oppression.

It has long been a matter of national pride with us that the condition of the masses in this country is so vastly superior to that of those of Europe, should it not be a matter of equal pride with the people's Representatives to maintain through all coming time that superiority? And how can it be done but by guarding our own industry against the unequal competition of that labor whose reward is starvation, and which, if suffered to come in competition with our own, must sooner or later reduce the laboring classes in this country to the same miserable condition. An all-wise Providence has placed in our hands all the elements necessary, if properly husbanded, to make us prosperous and happy for generations to come. Let us guard, then, with a vigilant eye, the vast domain which has been so bountifully bestowed upon us, to be held in trust for distribution to occupants during this and coming generations. If so apportioned out with the proper protection of our own industry, they will prove the instrument, which will long continue to elevate our condition above any other portion of our race.

It is urged that manufacturing will endanger our free institutions, that it begets ignorance and vice, engenders disease, and shortens life. This is untrue in every respect. There are no more intelligent and virtuous working class of people, and more zealous of their rights as freemen, than the manufacturers and mechanics of this country. In 1833, the Government of Great Britain appointed commissioners, whose duty it was made to inquire into the condition of the manufacturing population, from whose report it appears, that the state of

morals was as perfect, and in some respects more perfect than among other classes. The instances of illegitimacy were no more numerous than among the agricultural classes, while the average time of sickness was much less than that of any other class. The important fact appears, that during the raging of the cholera in Manchester, in 1832, the manufacturing population actually employed in factories, escaped almost entirely its ravages. In one factory employing over 1,500 hands there were but four cases, and in many others not a single case. The workmen became so strongly impressed with the belief that there was something in the atmosphere of a factory that protected them from the disease, that they hurried back from their meals to their work as the only place of safety. They were paid more liberal wages, enjoyed more of the comforts of life than the agricultural classes. The number who could read and write bore a fair average with those employed in agriculture and other branches of labor, while the history of the times establishes the fact that they were as zealous of their rights, more active, intelligent, and effective reformers, than any other class in England. The history of the world shows that the manufacturers, mechanics, and artisans of every age, have proved as able and intelligent defenders of their individual rights, as bold and patriotic reformers as any other class whatever; which should put forever to flight the unfounded imputation that employment of the kind is calculated to beget ignorance, degrade, and vitiate the mind. Without going into detail to show the bettered condition of England, Germany, France, and many other countrys, in consequence of their going extensively into manufacturing, if I may be permitted, I will refer to a little kingdom nearly connected with the events which ended in the discovery of this country, which early distinguished itself in promoting the arts, sciences, agriculture, and manufactures; and whose inhabitants are rarely thought of but as a race of infidels, and barbarians, long since swept from the earth. The kingdom to which I allude, is Granada, in Spain, the foundation of which is ascribed to the Jews lead captive in the train of Nebuchadnezzar, when he came to Spain after the destruction of Jerusalem, when they are supposed to have built the cities of Toledo and Granada; these cities did not attain much note till the conquest of Spain by the Saracens, after which, it was apportioned out amongst the conquerors. The Musselman of Egypt, settled in Mucia, the Royal legion of Emessa, in Seville, that of Casarine, in Jaen, that of Palestine, in Midona Sidona, while the fruitful dominions of Granada was assigned to ten thousand cavaliers who were said to have been of the noblest blood of Arabia. "The colonists kept up their ancient distinction, after naming their places after that of their nativity. The Saracens called them upon the bank of the Douro, Damascus, which soon lost its boundaries in the growing extent of the Albecian which still bares the name of Granada. They are said to have been led to give it the name of Damascus from other considerations, than love and veneration for their native city. "Granada, like Damascus, enjoyed a fertility so constant, that scarcity is said never to have been known within its borders;" it also had its two rivers, and many springs, bathing its walls and cleansing its streets, passing in cooling streams through its houses, and gushing up every where in fountains; nor does the Douro furnish a beverage less delightful to the Granadians, than the Tora to the natives of Damascus." "The Silver Genil like the Barada of Damascus, laves the southern confines of the city, while the Syrcia Naveda, with its snow-crowned ridges, pierce the clouds rising like another Mount Lebanon at its back." In that romantic region of beautiful valleys and everlasting mountains, distinguished for perpetual snows, and flowers of perrenial bloom, denominated the lost Paradise of the Moors, one may well imagine as he looks down from the towers of the Alhambra, upon the Vega of Granada, that if it is not the upper Paradise, that its concentrated beauties

are their imaged forth, shut out from the contaminations of the wicked world by the everlasting mountains which approximate its great prototype. We are told that it was there where internal commotion had weakened them, and the Spaniards had driven out the Arabs from other portions of Spain, indicating a speedy downfall of the Saracen denomination, in Granada, "there arose one of those individuals who, sometimes appear upon earth to affect the destinies of men and nations, and stamp the age in which they live with something of their own greatness, who, upon the fragments of a broken State, erected a new kingdom in one corner of Andalusia, destined to enjoy near three centuries of greatness and glory." "This individual was Mohamed Benasnar, the first of that distinguished race who reigned so wisely under the title of Emperor of the Faithful and King of Spain, which was the commencement of the golden age of that little kingdom." He and his successors gave themselves up to the cares of peace, and won the affections of the people by erecting hospitals for the poor and sick and blind, establishing schools for the children, and colleges for the youth, frequently visiting them in person to see if they were managed kindly, and if the attendants did their duty—nor did they fail to encourage the arts, manufacturers, and agriculture; in the latter employment they delighted in spending much of their time in cultivating flowers and in beautifying the grounds, which endeared them to their subjects, and which was so necessary where there are no fixed laws of succession. Manufactures were in a more flourishing state than in any cotemporary kingdom of Europe. The manufacturer of gunpowder, glass, porcelain, and paper, was first discovered by them and introduced into Europe. The manufacture of cotton and woollen cloth was carried on extensively at Granada. "The silk manufacture was the most brilliant branch of their industry, which in the time of Justine sold for its weight in gold, became a common article of dress among the Granadians, who carried this branch of manufacture to so great a perfection, that in the markets of the Levant, their serges, taffetas, and velvets, were preferred to those of Syria. The commerce of that little kingdom carried on with Africa and the Levant, was said to be very great—strangers from twenty different nations were seen in its streets at the same time, engaged in trade and commerce. The lovers of letters and science which it is said sprung up in Arabia, among the descendants of the same caliphs who destroyed the Alexandrian library, which lead there to the establishment of colleges and libraries, did not fail to extend itself amongst the Spanish Arabs, who are said to have established sixty libraries in different places, some of them of an extent that would have done credit to the founders of the present day, at which time the first libraries of England would not have formed a tithe of one of them—mention is made of 300 cotemporary authors of note amongst them. In the 12th century, the very gloomiest period of the dark age of Christendom, nowhere in the Saracen dominions did learning flourish more than in Granada, which contained a Royal University, and two inferior colleges, besides its numerous primary schools." The libraries attached to the institutions, and all others connected with the Spanish Moors, fell a prey to the fanaticism of the Christians.

"Cardinal Ximenese, learned and illustrious as he was said to have been, caused 800,000 volumes, found at Granada at the conquest, to be brought together and burned in one bonfire. Thus the friends of learning had to deplore the loss of works whose untold treasures are only known to be regretted. The Granadians also excelled in the knowledge of medicine; so famous were they, that Christian Princes sought the advice of Moorish physicians. They also did much to advance the arts, science, and literature in Christendom; which had so long given place to the religious disputes and blind fanaticism which had cast such a gloom over that period; and although it was a cardinal principle of Ma-

homedanism to enforce its doctrines at the price of blood, they were a tolerant people : Christians were permitted to sit down in safety, and hold sweet counsel with them, beneath the shadow of the Moorish vine and fig-tree.

This little kingdom of Granada, equal in territory only to a second or third rate State, and the most mountainous region in Spain, not more than one half of which was capable of being cultivated, supported a population of between three and four millions. The city of Granada, alone, contained a population of over 500,000, and sent forth 60,000 warriors into the field, manifesting a chivalrous bravery rarely equalled and never surpassed. A large portion of this immense population were engaged in the arts and manufactures, furnishing a triumphant refutation to the charge that they beget ignorance and vice, disqualifying mankind for self-government and the enjoyment of free institutions—for the Granadians were a comparatively free, intelligent, simple, honest, happy people.

This is but a faint outline of Granada under Alama and his successors, entrenched within its mountains, strengthened in its fastnesses by an immense population, which was gradually swollen by accessions from other congenial kingdoms, which enabled her for centuries to maintain her grandeur, and carry on a continuous war up to the time of the union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon under Ferdinand and Isabella, when commenced the ten years' war which ended in its downfall. And although they have perished forever from the earth, and the places that once knew them shall know them no more, the records of their rise and fall are such that their memory can never die : an imperishable immortality is gathered around it, which will live so long as their flowering valley continues to bloom, or the sweet notes of the nightengale to enchant their groves, or the music of the winds to mingle with the roar of their waterfalls, and their silvery flood to flow onward to the ocean, or the sun upon its gorgeous chariot-wheels of fire to come over the everlasting hills, and until it shall sink to fade no more behind the blue West.

It will be fortunate and happy for us as a nation, if we profit by the lessons of experience which the history of that remarkable people has opened out to us, clearly demonstrating, as it does, that, by fostering and combining agriculture and manufactures, nations may double their population, develop all their resources, diffuse the rich fruits of their industry, and render their people intelligent, independent, and affluent.

I remarked, when I first alluded to Granada, that it was nearly connected with the events which led to the discovery of this country. It was so. It was at the little town of Santa Fe, in sight of Granada, and in the midst of its beautiful Vega, where Isabella took by the hand the adventuresome and high-minded Genoese, after he had made a pilgrimage around the world, seeking patrons at different Courts who would send him forth upon a voyage of discovery. Columbus returned from Portugal after an unsuccessful attempt to enlist its Court in his enterprise, and applied to Ferdinand and Isabella, who referred his project to a learned commission, who, after due deliberation, regarded it as the chimera of an overheated and distempered mind. When he departed, and was upon his way to bid farewell to Spain forever, he was met by a learned Friar at Seville, who had become deeply interested in his contemplated enterprise, who had discovered the budding of a mighty genius in him, and who persuaded him to remain until he could visit Isabella, and urge upon her to adopt the enterprise as her own. He did so, and she caused him to be recalled to Santa Fe. He reached there in season to witness the completion of the conquest, and the triumphal entry of the Sovereigns into Granada, surrounded by an amount of pomp and glory which has rarely, if ever, fallen to the lot of any other earthly Princes. Ferdinand, who had no faith in the enterprise, opened the negotiation with him. He claimed the Vice Royalty of all the countries he should discover, with one-tenth of their income,

and that he should be made Admiral of the Fleets. Ferdinand rejected these claims, and abruptly broke up the audience, dismissing Columbus, who left, determined not to abate one iota of his claim, manifesting that greatness of soul which maintained its dignity in the midst of every misfortune. An officer of the household called Isabella's attention to his departure. She recalled him and accepted his terms, undertaking the expedition upon her own account for the Crown of Castile, and not for Arragon, generously offering to pledge her jewels, with which to obtain the means to send him forth.

I wish, Mr. Speaker, that the distinguished artist had perfected the happy illustration of that great event, by adding Isabella to the group which has so recently been placed upon the steps of your Capitol, representing her at the interesting moment when offering to pledge her jewels, or in the act of receiving from Columbus the globe which he is with an air of triumph in the attitude of presenting. They were kindred spirits, with intellects as towering as the Andes, and a faith as boundless as eternity—whose memories should be cherished by America, and handed down to posterity in nothing less enduring than monumental marble.

Ferdinand and Isabella are entombed in the great cathedral at Granada, beneath a sumptuous mausoleum, in the form of an elevated white marble couch, resting on the shoulders of saints carved in bass relievo, surmounted by figures representing winged seraphs, with the effigies of the sovereigns reclining upon the top of it, as if in a gentle sleep. There is so much that is chivalrous, romantic, and noble, particularly in the character of Isabella, as to make Granada the Mecca to the passing stranger and American pilgrim; notwithstanding which, when he ascends the tomb and stands over them, reclining as natural as life at his feet, and thinks of the conquest and cruel expulsion of the Moors, will find it hard to forgive them. But when he reflects that the generous and noble minded Isabella, during her lifetime, guarded scrupulously all the provisions of her treaties, making the stern cardinal, Ziminese, tremble in her presence, when rebuking him for his attempts at a favored conversion of the Moors, that the church was the conscience-keeper of Kings, and that she took Columbus by the hand when all the world had deserted him, and sent him forth upon his mission of discovery, full of that expansive faith, which, it has been happily said, if he had found no world in the midst of the watery waves, would have created one. It remains a question, in the eyes of some, never to be solved, whether that faith, which is equal to the removal of mountains, did not invoke from beneath the flood this beautiful world of ours. He cannot find it in his heart to harbor enmity to them. Yet when he looks down upon those mighty Cæsars, he is admonished that they are not there; for the great captain of the guard long since relieved them from their earthly watch, and their spiritual chariots have gone over the everlasting hills; yet there all that remains of them that is earthly sleeps, unconscious of the agonising groans of a suffering and prostrate country, once the idol of their hearts; or of the jubilee of a mightier empire than their own that their generous munificence aided into life. "It matters not, for the seed time has come, and the harvest has passed"—the abundant harvest—not to their children or their children's children, but to a stranger race." Sleep on, then, princes, soldiers, sovereigns, through Time's shadowy night, and may their dust remain undisturbed beneath that noble pile till that instrument shall sound, whose awful voice, we are told, we all sooner or later must hear, at whose echoings the loftiest temples will crumble into atoms, and the earth itself dissolve away.

In conversation, a few days since, with an honorable Representative from the West, (Mr. DOUGLASS,) who, I believe, is an advocate of a Revenue Tariff and Free Trade, he spoke of the rapid advances and glorious destiny of the West; cities were to arise there that would outrival New York. As he was contem-

plating their prospective grandeur, he appeared to be about realizing the sublime vision of Byron, when he said :

"I stood in Venice, on the Bridge of Sighs,
A palace and a prison on each hand—
I saw from out the wave her structures rise—
As from the stroke of an enchanted wand,
A thousand years their dusky wings expand
Around me, and a dying glory smiles
Over the fair time, when many a subject land
Looked to the winged lions' marble piles,
When Venice sat in state, throned upon a hundred isles."

But how such magnificent cities are to spring into existence dependent merely upon internal commerce, is more than I can divine. But let the West come up to the work and sustain her true interests, by adequately protecting every branch of home industry, and carry out a judicious system of internal improvements which are *emphatically Whig measures*, and which enrobed New England in the beautiful garments with which she is adorned, making her waste places blossom like a rose—substituting in New York the home of the happy husbandman, for the his of the serpent, the screech of the panther, and the still more frightful battle yell of the red hunter, giving to them the cattle upon a thousand hills—making every hill top and valley in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, vocal with the merry clink of the mechanics hammer, rearing up to them a hundred towns, and developing the untold mineral wealth, of their iron mountains; and which policy will equally beautify, adorn, and bless the South and West, if they will avail themselves of its protecting wings. Under its influence our aims will be one, with the same religion and language we shall be united in bonds of a common brotherhood, when we shall hear no more of disunion, violated faith and a broken Constitution; for the North and the South, the East and the West, will send up their annual contributions of wreaths of flowers that will never fail to adorn our beautiful temple, watering with their tears the tree of liberty planted by the pilgrims, and nurtured by our revolutionary fathers, while its roots are penetrating broad and deep the earth, sending up its trunk to the Heavens, and shooting abroad its branches of flame to light the nations, when it will be fortunate and happy for this and every other generation of the earth, to be permitted to walk the course of time in the fullness of its reflected light.

